UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

How to Abolish Unemployment

James G. Blauvelt

The Religion of Solidarity - *Edward Bellamy*

Social Workers Attack the Causes of Distress - - - - - *Helen Cody Baker*

A New Declaration of Independence - - - - - - - - - *Paul Harris Drake*

Buchmanism and India - - - *S. K. George*

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Prof. Charles A. Beard on Hitlerism

Speaking on "Intellectual Freedom" in New York City, Prof. Charles A. Beard, author of "The Rise of American Civilization," said that "Hitlerism had violated the rules of civilized society." He continued:

"It may be said that these things are done in Europe and do not concern us in the United States. This is the most dangerous delusion of our time. In exalting brute force, the founders of the new tyranny make militaristic organization of every phase of life—even war as its climax—the supreme end of life. Although Hitler now speaks gently as the dove on occasion, Hitlerism is sheer militarism now and later war. The whole philosophy of the German government is summed up in the following passage from the tyrant that presides over it. Hitler says on page 715 of Mein Kampf in words expurgated from the English: 'Everything, from the baby's first storybook to the last newpaper, theater, cinema . . . will be put to this end . . . until the brain of the tiniest child is penetrated by the glowing prayer: Almighty God, bless our weapons again . . . bless our battle!'

"This is the supreme fixed idea of the German government, and only imbeciles will be deceived by professions of peace. When this bloodlust has let loose the next war in Europe then the fragile structure of international relations will be broken and the United States will stand in mortal peril of being drawn into another universal conflagration. Even considered from the standpoint of sheer domestic policy, Hitlerism is a menace to the peace and security of America.

"That is not all. Hitlerism disturbs the peace of the United States even now by sending its agents of propaganda and destruction to apologize for its enormities and spread its poison here. Revelations from regions as far apart as Massachusetts and California disclose its underground activities. Already storm troops wearing distinguishing

(*Continued on page* 180)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXIII MONDAY, JUNE 25, 1934 Number 9

WAR IS MURDER

There can be no permanent peace until two things are accomplished: First, people of my nation and of other nations must realize that war is not the right way to settle difficulties, that war is wrong and peace is right. And second, these same people must create a public opinion strong enough to impress upon their political leaders that they want differences settled around council tables instead of on battlefields.

Make no mistake about it, war is murder.

Wars spring from international hatreds and jealousies and rivalries for trade and commerce; from selfishness and greed; from the general cussedness of human nature. There can never be lasting peace until men have peace and good will in their hearts. And peace and good will can be cultivated.

"Blessed are the peacemakers," the Great Teacher said. We haven't believed it. Mankind has been struggling along, placing its faith in armies and navies, leaving the destiny of countries to the outcome of wars. It now is time to learn that peaceful nations are indeed blessed. That war doesn't settle difficulties. That war creates more prejudice, rivalry, and misunderstanding. That war doesn't pay.

*—Sergeant Alvin C. York**

*Famous as having killed more Germans than any other "hero" in the War.—Ed.

Meissonier's famous painting, "The Retreat From Moscow," may well be taken as the illustrative symbol of the present plight of the N. R. A. The great withdrawal began with the quashing of the codes covering the innumerable petty service businesses of the nation—cleaning, dyeing, pressing, tailoring, and other thousands of small industries. The government found the control of these activities as untenable as Napoleon found the old fortress of the Kremlin, and so (sensibly) pulled out. Then came price-fixing—the abominable power given to industry under the codes to defy the anti-trust laws, agree on extortionate prices, and exploit the buying public in the interest of unlimited profits and in complete defiance of the due claims of labor to share in the booty thus wrested from the consumer. Senator Borah discovered and denounced at the very start this surrender of the common people to the tender mercies of big business, but the White House utterly ignored his plea. Now, after months of organized robbery, with prices soaring skyward and purchasing power thus reduced to a minimum and unemployment and relief almost as bad as ever, the administration abandons the code agreements on prices, and thus begins the long retreat. The retirement of General Johnson, slow in coming but inevitable, will mark the full confession that N. R. A. has been a failure and must be scrapped. Interpretation of this disastrous event depends of course on one's point of view. The conservatives will say that the government should keep out of business—that the whole idea of controlling industry is an interference with basic laws of supply and demand (laissez-faire) and of course must fail. The radicals, of whom we are one, will say that the government was on the right road with its N. R. A. idea, but did not have the courage or vision to go far enough. Instead of taking over industry, it simply organized it and then left all power in the hands of the private owners. Some day we are going to discover that there is no half-way in this matter of a planned society. Perhaps Roosevelt's chief contribution to the socialized commonwealth of the future will in the end be the failure of his bold attempt to revamp capitalism.

President Roosevelt is laying up fame and immortality for his administration in many directions, but in none more so than in his relation with what have all too long been regarded as our foreign dependencies. His release of the Philippines to independence is an act which must rank Mr. Roosevelt among the great emancipators of all time. One blushes to think of the failure of the United States

through a full generation to fulfil the solemn promise made to the Filipinos at the close of the Spanish-American War. But now is this great wrong righted, and the word of the nation thus made good. Of almost equal importance is the new treaty with Cuba, ending the long iniquity of the Platt Amendment. Denied the liberty guaranteed by the blood of our murdered soldiery, exploited by ruthless banking and investment interests of this country, the Cubans seemed hopelessly ensnared in the growing entanglements of American imperialism. Now comes this treaty, a triumph of righteous statesmanship, and a perpetual glory to the Roosevelt regime! Significant also was the achievement of Secretary of State Hull at Montevideo, in establishing just and equitable relations between the United States and all Latin-American countries. More and more in recent years has this nation been tending toward a position of political mastery or overlordship on this western hemisphere. Now is this tendency ended in a high resolve to live and act simply as one among many countries occupying one-half the swinging globe. We venture to suggest that, in times to come, the Roosevelt administration may be best remembered for this policy laid down at Montevideo as the basis of durable peace in this portion of the world. For these and similar achievements the President deserves the loud applause of mankind. This is statesmanship of a high and noble order.

The biennial convention of the Socialist Party in Detroit was a tragedy—for two reasons! In the first place, it released that furious and ferocious spirit of factionalism which is the bane and ultimately the doom of minority groups. Unaware, apparently, of the enemy without, these Socialist delegates could only see among themselves those enemies within which they were most eager to destroy. And so they fought one another with more ruthless determination than ever they fought the forces of political capitalism. For sheer futility, pettiness, and bad feeling, we have seen nothing to compare with this convention since the old days of Christian sectarianism. In the second place, as the outcome of all this shameful internal strife, the convention committed the Socialist Party to the Communist tactics of dictatorship supported by force and violence. Had the delegates adopted this policy bravely and openly, they might at least have been commended for sincerity. But as a matter of fact they resorted to innuendo and suggestion, hidden meanings and equivocal phrases, as though they dared not stand up and say their say. Yet, if it means anything, this decisive paragraph means full surrender to Communism:

> If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government rule.

In the face of this declaration, the convention's repudiation of war means nothing, or less than nothing, for in place of the international war which it guarantees to oppose, it straightway substitutes the class war which it guarantees to espouse. Why these left-wing Socialists, unhappily dominant in this convention, do not join the Communists and be done with it, we cannot imagine. Fortunately, the action of the convention is to be submitted to a referendum vote of party members, and Socialism may thus be saved. But if not, add America's collapse to that of all the other Socialist Parties of the world!

We have long believed that Hitler's regime in Germany is here to stay—have accepted Professor Hoover's dictum that it would remain "for an indefinite period." But within recent weeks we have begun to have our doubts. For signs seem to be multiplying that Hitler and his Nazis are getting into trouble. At bottom, of course, are the economic difficulties. Hitler promised nothing more unreservedly than a solution of the economic problem. Under his rule Germany would be prosperous again! That the Dictator has made strenuous endeavors to fulfil his promise is obvious enough, and every now and then he publishes statistics—unemployment figures, for example—which seem to indicate that he is getting somewhere. But real facts are running increasingly against him. Thus, it is now as plain as a pikestaff that the financial situation of the Reich is desperate. Thus, when a private creditor's conference grants a six months' interest moratorium, and the government itself postpones for two weeks the payments due on foreign obligations, a collapse like that of June, 1931, would seem to be not far away. The figures on foreign trade, which, unlike unemployment figures, cannot be doctored, are ominous in the extreme. Thus, exports have fallen from a monthly average of 478,000,000 marks in 1932 to that of 325,000,000 marks in the first four months of the present year. Imports, on the other hand, remain about the same—which means that Germany is swiftly going bankrupt! The boycott, in other words, is a triumphant success. Meanwhile, governmental savagery against minority groups is becoming more ruthless than ever, a sure sign of inward disintegration. Also, the "brown shirts" are getting restless and rebellious. Thus, Col. Frank Knox, trained newspaper man, has recently returned from Germany, and testifies that "conditions in Germany are steadily growing worse." He declares that the "brown shirts" are ready for revolt against their own chief, since "it is well known that 50 per cent are Communists or

Socialists or sympathizers with them." The *New Republic* reports shop-council elections in which Nazi candidates received less than 50 per cent of the votes cast, showing that German labor is waking up. "Hitler's honeymoon is waning," says the *New Republic.* "The fantastic spell that lay over Germany's workers is breaking. Life is becoming real once more."

It is immensely significant that, at just this time, the heroic German pastors should come to the fore again in their fight against the Nazi tyranny. For some time, now, nothing has been heard of this movement of religious revolt against the endeavor of the government to subdue the church to the totalitarian state. It was feared that the Pastors' Emergency League had been beaten and disbanded. But not so! A few weeks ago a great meeting of the Protestant pastors was held at Barmen, Westphalia. One hundred and twenty delegates assembled in a congress which, says the correspondent of the New York *Herald-Tribune,* "may become a landmark not only in the German church but also in German political history." The delegates included lay representatives of the churches, leaders of dissolved Evangelical youth associations, members of the Emergency League, and such outstanding pastors as Martin Niemoeller, who was ousted from his Berlin pulpit; Friedrich Bodelschwingh, whose election last year as Primate of the German Protestant church was repudiated by the Nazis; Dr. Jacobs, minister of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, who was beaten up by "brown shirt" thugs in his study; Bishop Hans Meiser, of southern Germany, and Bishop Fritz Marahrens, of Hanover. This congress organized a Free Reich Synod, in direct opposition to Bishop Mueller's Nazi Reich Church, and issued a Declaration in six statements, or theses, written (so it is reported) by the great Karl Barth, of Bonn, which recalls the heroic days of the Reformation. Deposing Bishop Mueller, Hitler's chaplain, and pronouncing null and void his unification of the church under state authority, this Declaration reaffirms the time-honored liberal principle of the separation of church and state, denounced the "leadership principle" which is the cardinal doctrine of Nazi ecclesiasticism, and asserted, in effect, that "Martin Luther's Reformation was not for the purpose of exchanging the Pope in the Vatican for a Pope in the Wilhelmstrasse." Thus the Protestant rebels wreck Hitler's dream of capturing the churches, and lead again the revolt against the Nazis. When Germany once more is free, it may well be found that the Protestant clergy achieved the victory.

Are women exhibitionists? Not all women, of course, for no generalization holds true of an entire group! But women by and large, especially as trained by the influences of our current materialistic civilization? We put this question to two valued women friends, highly trained and widely experienced, and they answered—Yes, women are exhibitionists. Surely, there is evidence to sustain this view. Women's styles, for example! These are designed neither for comfort nor for beauty, but obviously for exhibition purposes. The apparently insatiable passion of women to strip themselves as nearly naked as possible—certainly, this is only to show themselves off. The cigarette habit is pure exhibitionism—not one woman in ten enjoys cigarettes, but not less than seven in ten find delight in the exhibition presented by their use. Watch actors and actresses on the stage, and note how rare it is to find an actress really concerned with the art of acting as compared with the business of personal exhibitionism. But if this is true, *why* is it true? More especially, why has an activity once exercised predominantly by the male now been taken over predominantly by the female, In the animal world, it is the male who is engaged in exhibiting himself. The male bird has the gay plumage and the impressive strut; the male beast has the mane or the horns, and the regal bearing to attract attention. For centuries, in human society, men were invariably the paraders. Think of the days when the human males adorned themselves with satins and laces, huge wigs and sweeping beards, plumes, swords and horses! It was all a gaudy performance, dictated at bottom by the principle of sexual selection. But now the performance has been taken over by the women. Why? We have never seen this question answered. We have read biology and sociology in vain for an explanation of this transference of exhibitionism from the male to the female line. Yet what could be more interesting!

Jottings

We are inclined to think that, if we were President of this country, we would never make a speech at Gettysburg. When a thing has once been perfectly done, it is foolish to try again. For Mrs. Malaprop is right—"comparisons are odorous."

For a long time we have wondered about this "token money" paid by the debtor nations to the United States. Yet we should have known all along. For have we not, for lo, these many years, examined church collection plates and seen the pennies, but-

tons, and foreign coins dropped therein? Surely these are "token money" for debts never to be paid!

And now it is "speed bathing-suits"! What fraction of a millimeter difference one suit may have as compared with another, we cannot imagine. But any suggestion of speed will attract buyers in this country, and so advertising achieves one more consummate triumph.

Major General Amos A. Fries, U. S. A., says that "the greatest invention in human history is the weapon." Why not the tool, General? Destroy every spear, sword, and gun, and man would only be the better for the loss. But destroy the axe, the plough, and the hammer—and man would perish!

A war memorial of a new type was dedicated at Orange, Massachusetts, this last Memorial Day. Designed by Joseph P. Pollia, it depicts a soldier without arms telling a boy who holds a book that there must be no more wars. Under the bronze group appears the inscription, "It Shall Not Be Again." When the tons of conventional soldier and sailor monuments which clutter up this unhappy land have been carted away to the junk pile, here is at least one which is worthy still to stand.

Nazi propagandists in this country are asserting that President Roosevelt is descended from a Dutch Rosenfeld family and is thus a Jew. Well, what of it?

Once again, *au revoir* for the summer! This department, "Jottings," will be resumed in the first issue of UNITY in October.

J. H. H.

Proposed Roads to a Better Social Order

No. 6—How to Abolish Unemployment

It can be done. I do not mean simply to abolish it for a week, a month, a season, as the C. W. A. has with generous intent undertaken to provide work of any kind and pay the price out of the public treasury. That was meant only as a makeshift. This is all it was, an emergency measure.

If we open idle land to use we can provide employment for all the unemployed permanently. This is not an original idea. The late George L. Record, whom I regard as the most intelligent advocate of wise legislation, has presented it in his truly masterful way. He founded it on the unanswerable logic of Henry George. Since then time has made it converts. Those then having plenty are in want. Those who had so much that they turned a deaf ear to the plea for justice for the oppressed find they are not secure in the enjoyment of what is left, but are in fact, insecure. Many, deluded by the sight of men gaining princely fortunes, felt that these men were showing the way for them. These Napoleons of finance filled the minds of multitudes with awe. They were regarded as the wisest of men and people willingly—almost anxiously—thrust into their hands the power of government, that we might have the greatest and the best. So financiers, Wall Street, became supreme and for at least twelve years had complete sway, disputed by only a handful of baffled opponents. But the end was a hideous disaster. No one cares to tread that path again.

The Wall Street way was a failure. Banks closed, mills shut down, farms and homes were foreclosed, while millions of self-respecting people, ready and willing to work, were without food, clothing or shelter, save as provided by some friend or some agency of government. The charities were swamped and government alone was left to relieve the misery and want.

We found that the great Napoleons of finance were not great. They had privileges that enabled them to get great unearned fortunes. Some of these privileges we can now in our sober reasoning see clearly and describe accurately. The privileges were the private ownership of monopolies of public necessities. Some of these monopolies were those possessed by the coal trust, the steel trust, the aluminum trust controlled by the Mellon family, the copper trust, and others like them founded on ownership of practically all the lands containing the ores or raw materials essential to these great industries. They own not only the lands they work, but all, or practically all, such lands that could be worked to produce their particular product. And these unused lands are many times greater in extent than the lands they used. So they held them. No one could compete with them. They were the sole producers, except here and there some, apparently independent, were by their leave permitted to continue to give a pretense that competition existed. Thus they could name an exorbitant price and grow very rich.

That monopoly is very well recognized as one that results from land ownership and our system of allowing private owners of land to hold them and not use them. If others could use them the competition would destroy the exorbitant profit; more goods would be sold at the lower price; more people would necessarily be employed. The great fortunes the insiders in these trusts were amassing would then be impossible. You probably remember that the president of the Bethlehem Steel Company was paid in one year for salary and bonus about two million dollars. The coal trust with their railroad transportation associations raised their prices to unconscionable heights, and still keep them there. The steel trust has loaded the cost of every rail, every steel-structure building in which business is conducted, tools and machinery, and every automobile—they have made all of these costs much more than they should, and this excess cost due to their monopoly is their toll that they exact from the people of America. And this exorbitant price, we should always bear in mind, affects every one. It affects the cost of doing business and the living of every family, even though it seems to be hidden so that no one knows how much he or she has been robbed. The full amount

they have unjustly taken is, however, the amount they have by this process taken from us all and to that extent wrongly disturbed the just distribution of wealth.

We seek recovery. To secure recovery it is necessary that we adopt intelligent measures to stop these exactions. We must have a plan. Now that we see that the source of their power, at least one great source, is the right to exclude all others from land they hold idle, we propose to attack that. It can be done by lawful, orderly methods that will allow them to keep their plants and everything they have made and is justly theirs, and all the land they use; but, for the general welfare, the government may provide that idle lands may be taken by the government and leased at a fair rental value with the condition that on failure to use the lands the lease will be forfeited.

Thus the people will again have access to the storehouse of materials God put in the earth for the benefit of man, and not as a means to enslave him.

Of all monopolies the private ownership of land is greatest. It is greater than all others combined. Many people are startled by the figures and wonder how a monopoly of such magnitude has escaped their attention. But as I said before, if we are to restore prosperity we must correct the evils that brought it about.

Another kind of injustice of still greater proportions arises from our way of treating other land in our cities, towns, hamlets and farms, of which many do not seem to be very well informed. There is no mystery about it and nothing that men or women cannot understand and verify from the affairs of their own lives.

I started to say something of the value of these privileges. They are startling figures, but I assure you they are correct and easily verified. Our national debt is about twenty-six billion dollars. We are going to talk in billions for the present. It will require the more just distribution of a considerable sum to correct the distribution of wealth that is largely responsible for our depression.

The government debt is twenty-six billion. It takes a lot of labor to pay the interest on that. On March 7, 1934, the New York *Times* in its financial columns stated that all the securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange at the prices quoted for March 1 had a value of about thirty-six billion. That includes, as you know, the stocks and bonds of the great railroads, many great utilities such as the American Tel. & Tel., General Electric, the great industries such as U. S. Steel, and several hundreds of other great companies. *The assessed value, however, of land in this country totals* 125 *billion.* This is for land value only. It is not the value of real estate, for that includes buildings and improvements upon land. In most discussions I notice real estate values are given without showing what part is value of land, and what is the value of buildings and improvements. I am referring only to land value, so please keep this distinction in mind.

Land values are different in their origin and nature from values of buildings, machinery, and personal property. They are created differently. Land value is made by the presence of people and their activities. We see the enormous land values of our great cities and marvel at them, but we should always remember who made those values, and if we still believe we should render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's we should bear in mind that the land values in justice belong to the people as a whole, and not to landlords as individuals, no matter how the law and custom has taught us to deal with them. Just as in slavery days those who recognized the moral law, believed with Lincoln that no man was good enough to own another man, yet obeyed the statute law which said one man could own another man. But they did it as Lincoln said he did. He said he recognized the decision of the court that a slave was a chattel and would obey it while it remained the law, but he said, "We mean to change that law." So we must change the statute law to give to the communities the rental values of land made by, and morally belonging to, the people.

Perhaps a few illustrations of land values would be interesting.

The Waldorf-Astoria Land Lease

There was a vacant block of land in New York owned by a subsidiary of the N. Y. Central Railroad which leased it to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel at an annual rent, to begin with, of three hundred thousand dollars, increased to six hundred thousand dollars in 1932, and increased fifty thousand every five years until 1956, when the yearly rent would be eight hundred thousand dollars, when a new lease is to be made. Who made that value? Not the railroad, though it contributed, as did all other activities of everybody else, fire and police protection, great waterworks, sewers, streets, parks, bridges, tunnels, airports, streets and highways, hospitals, schools, colleges, churches, art, literature, commerce, the greatest stores in the world, great newspapers, *and the presence of millions of people* providing activities of every kind.

Why should the railroads have what millions of people have made? The rental of that land should go to the public treasury. The land belongs to the people and so does the income of it.

The Astors' Reward from Land Sold for the Empire State Building

The Astors bought the property where the Empire State Building now stands, for a few thousand dollars. They sold it to Al Smith and his associates for fifteen millions, and William Waldorf Astor trotted off to England with his half, seven and one-half millions, on the interest of which he and his children, to the end of time, can ride on the backs of the people. Such a system is a curse. It so distributes wealth that it is a public menace. No graft ever disclosed in public life compares with this enormous gift to the Astors of a value *all* of the people had created and morally owned. Lawfully it was the Astors' in the same sense that the slave was his master's chattel.

The practice of erecting buildings on leased land is very old and has been rapidly increasing of late in America. London is built principally on leased lands. It is an old and common practice in Philadelphia and Baltimore. The owner leases the land to the builder who pays a rent for the use of the land. In New York the practice is now common where large buildings are erected. Trinity Church corporation owns much land leased this way; so does Sailor-Snug Harbor corporation. The Chrysler building is on land leased from Cooper Union. Radio City is on land leased at, I am told, a rent of two million dollars a year. There are many others.

I have before me "The Story of Forty Wall Street, 1799-1932," issued by the Bank of Manhattan Trust Company in the summer of 1932, in which it says:

The unique story of a plot assembly that took 121 years. How, on account of the enormous appreciation of land values in the financial district, a capital investment of $311,510 now yields to the company $500,000 annually. But the Bank of Man-

hattan Trust Co., although owner of the land, exercises no control and has no investment in the building of it.

Of the $311,510 invested it points out that $195,000 of it was invested as late as 1919. The owner of the building pays the taxes and all other expenses, so that, according to the lease, the land owner receives a net rental of half a million dollars a year for ninety-three years.

Now, does it make a difference whether or not this huge annual sum goes into the public treasury to meet the public expenses or whether it goes into private pockets to swell private fortunes?

People speak glibly of the depression being due to an unjust *distribution* of wealth. We can create wealth, they say, in abundance; in fact, in such abundance that they take radical measures to limit the farmers from growing cotton and wheat and other staples, actually plowing under and holding out of production over forty million acres of fertile lands. But here in this illustration we see a few receiving under the law millions of dollars a year that should morally and in justice go to *all* the people, that is, into the public treasury.

Now please bear in mind that if the rental value of the lands valued at 125 billion dollars was thus taken into the public treasuries, as it should be taken, instead of allowed to go as it does now into the pockets of individual lords of land, there would result a very significant alteration of the *distribution* of wealth, and such distribution would be just, thereby correcting the present distribution which is unjust.

Now if it is asked how much would thus be gained I would think that five per cent of the "assessed" land values would be absurdly low, for the "assessed" values are, as everyone knows who is familiar with buying, selling or leasing land, very much below the market price. But five per cent of 125 *billion* dollars is $6,250,000,000 a year.

This is the most important and most practical step that can be taken to restore prosperity, effect a more just distribution of wealth, open the door of opportunity to the unemployed, give freedom to labor and at the same time permanently establish a just system.

JAMES G. BLAUVELT.

Edward Bellamy—on the—Religion of Solidarity

III.

To return to the argument: in losing our personal identity, we should become conscious of our other, our universal identity, the identity of a universal solidarity—not losable in the universe, for it fills it. Let us then play with our individual lives as with toys, building them into beautiful forms and delighting ourselves in so brave a game, for have we not our true life, our impregnable citadel of being, as safe from the mishaps of the individual as the serene stars are safe from the earth's uproar and confusion? Be not careful then of your doings and goings. Be not deluded into magnifying their importance. Live with a certain calm abandon, a serene and generous recklessness. The things of the individual are at best but trifles, the rents or tinsel in the garment of a day. Be not hard or mean in spending your lives. Be not miserly in hoarding them. What parsimony could seem so supremely laughable in the eyes of onlooking God. It is like the demented millionaire who saves his crusts. The individuality is of so little importance, of such trifling scope that it should matter little to us. What renunciations of its things we make, what inequalities, what deprivations in its experiences we endure! We should hold our lives loosely and not with the convulsive grip of one who counts the personal life his all. The workman does not sacrifice himself to his tools, so should we not seek to serve the individual, which is the serf of the universal, by any sacrifice of those universal instincts, whereof the chief is unselfishness, which constitute true immortality. Our lives our comedy. In the universal there is no tragedy, and in the realm of the individual the experiences are too trifling for the dignity of tragedy. Melancholy and grief, fate or accident never triumph over the true life of man, only over the transient and unimportant phase of it known as the personality. Justly regarded, human life is a delightful game of passions and calculating, superior in interest to chess on account of the sense of partial identity with the personalities which serve us as puppets, while at the same time that sense of identity, at least to a philosopher's mind, is so incomplete as to prevent the interest from attaining a painful degree of intensity.

Seeing there is in every human being a soul common in nature with all other souls, but in a measure isolated by the conditions of individuality, it is easy to understand the origin of that cardinal motive of human life which is a tendency and a striving to absorb or be absorbed in or united with other lives and all life. This passion for losing ourselves in others or for absorbing them into ourselves which rebels against individuality as an impediment is then the expression of the greatest law of solidarity. So long as the particle of this life of solidarity in us is hindered by individual conditions from merging with its rest, that is with the all, so long will desire and the pathos of its partial disappointment be an underlying fact of human nature. It is the operation of this law in great and low things, in the love of men for women and for each other, for the race, for nature, and for those great ideas, which are symbols of solidarity, that has ever made up the web and woof of human passion. Love between individuals is the attraction between kindred particles, but the greatest of all loves, at once the most enthusiastic, the most sustaining, the most insatiable love of loves is that of an individual for his remnant, the universe. This is the love of God, by whatever name men may choose to call it. The manner in which love asserts itself between individuals is illustrative of its genesis in the law of solidarity. It is the nature of our souls to fuse together, for they are one, but by the conditions of individuality, the particle in each one of us is, as it were, fenced about and shut into itself. There it pines in loneliness, breeding infinite discontent and prompting all manner of God-like movings, which mightily disquiet the individual as to what may be the nature of this inmate which spurns, in such lordly fashion the surroundings which fit the individual so well. It holds to reason

that the restless soul will take advantage of any relaxation in the rigor of the conditions of the individuality to flow out toward its fellow particles and essay fusion with them. This relaxation may result either from a correlation of the physical or mental faculties of individuals or it may result from habitual association and the mutual accommodation of facilities resulting therefrom. The sexual relation is the great example of that physical correlation which, approximating the individualties and relaxing the rigor of their natural attitude of mutual antagonism and exclusiveness affords an opportunity for the confluence, in at least a partial sympathy of the roles of lovers, and the bliss resulting from the consciousness of even this imperfect union is a proof of the common essence of souls. But, after all, how imperfect is this union, even when helped to the uttermost by physical conditions. You find a woman at whose face you never tire of gazing, with a desire miraculously filling a full heart fuller. Fortune gives her to your arms and the fruit of physical satiety has been yours. But is your desire satisfied? Can it thus be other than mocked? It is herself, her soul, her utter life which you would absorb, into which you would be absorbed, with which you would be one. There is a lust of soul for soul dwarfing the lust of body for body, as the universal dwarfs the individual, a lust insatiable, a passion hopeless, yet entrancing, sweeter in desire than all others in consummation. The poet-lover finds not much difference whether the bodily embraces of his mistress be granted or denied him. He knows that nothing could satisfy his passion and counts the physical possession a thing almost indifferent to the attainment of his dreams.

Thus much of the hunger of souls for each other is born of the physical correlation of individualities.

But such a sympathy may spring as well from a mental correlation which is only of the individual. Such an adaption of mind to mind that their natural antagonisms are relaxed produces this form of partial realization of soul solidarity. Intellectual companionships are of this nature. But there is another kind of soul sympathy and tendency to oneness. I refer to that which springs from family life, that which endears with an altogether peculiar and intimate endearment brothers and sisters, the members of one household from childhood, this, too, without any apparent original correlation, mental or physical, between the persons. Nevertheless the correlation exists, only it is here the result of the attrition of habitual intercourse. As the toughest surfaces, by dint of constantly rubbing against each other, become at last smooth or adapt their qualities to each others forms, so persons associated in the close and constant relationships of family life become at last so fitted to each other that their souls naturally flow together. This is the genesis of family love. Nay, it is this superinduced correlation of habit that lends an element, frequently the largest element to the post-nuptial love. It is the gentle work of time that mends the blunders of the blind God and binds closely individuals with but small original mental or physical correlations. Beside the physical correlation between the sexes there is also a sex of intellect, thus affording a two-fold correlation, a cord not easily broken. And when the mutual confluence of souls thus induced has been perfected by the added influence of long habits of intimacy we have an example of the most complete realization of soul fusion that intercourse presents. It is not to be supposed then that the difficulty we find in sympathizing with some persons arises from lack of soul in them, but rather from the lack of mental or physical correlation between us. Paradoxical as it may seem, the most perfect lover given us on earth is our lover, not because of special adaptation of his soul to ours, for the essence of all souls is one, but by reason of our special mutual mental and physical adaptation, which relaxing the mutual antagonisms of our personalities allows the spirit to fuse. Individualities may or may not match well. Here is room for choice, our souls always match, for they are inhalations of one breath, tongues of one flame.

It seems that at some time the sympathy of solidarity asserts itself in connection with states of physical exaltation, and sometimes quite independently of them. Thus, narcotics, intoxicants, and the natural stimulants of beauty, music, a soft bland air, and perfume, often produce singly or unitedly a state very favorable to this psychical experience. They are thus influential, I suppose, by virtue of relaxing the rigor of individual conditions, as it were, laying the petty, petulant instincts of personality under a spell. This must be the manner of their operation, for it seems that the languor of the faculties resulting from extreme exhaustion is equally favorable to the same psychical experience. I conclude then that the physical condition favorable to it is that of suspension of the sense of wants, and requirements of the body, which end is attained either from satisfaction of their torpor from narcotics or from exhaustion. But, as above intimated, the instincts of universal solidarity also assert themselves quite independently of physical conditions, responding to direct moral appeal, to eloquence of speech, or written word, or the description of beauty or sublimity. The union of the physical influences described with those of a more purely moral nature, produces more remarkable effects than either class alone. As, when the inspiration of martial music combining with the instinct of Nationalism (which is one of the soldier forms of solidarity) the heart of the soldier melts in a happy rapture of self-devotion. He is impatient to throw his life away and rejoices in his body as a sacrifice which he can make for his country, even as the priest rejoices in a victim for the altar of his god.

It is this mixture of the physical and moral influences that gives its wonderful power to music combined with religious service. Room fails me for the crowding illustrations of this point. The beauties, sublimities, and infinities of nature are, however, the most constant ministers to the instinct of solidarity. The sky and the sea are two types of infinity that should always suffice to recall us from absorption in the individual side of our nature. They are the material symbols of the soul's infinity, and as the piety of the Romanist revives at the sight of the crucifix, so should the religion of universal solidarity stir freshly in us whenever our eyes are raised to the bottomless vault of heaven or scan the unbounded sea.

In the religion of solidarity is found the only rational philosophy of the moral instincts. Unselfishness, self-sacrifice, is the essence of morality, but on the theory of ultimate individualities unselfishness is madness. On the theory of the dual life, of which the life of solidarity is abiding and that of the individual transitory, unselfishness is but the sacrifice of the lesser self to the greater self, an eminently rational and philosophical proceeding per se, and entirely regardless of ulterior considerations. The moral intuitions which impel to self-sacrifice are the instincts of the life of solidarity asserting themselves against the instincts of the individuality. Hence that majesty beyond appeal in their monitions. As the individuality has its appetites and passions, so the universal life has its passions of self-debation, its rebellious, self-torturing sympathies, its generous longings. The individuality would always sacrifice other individualities to itself, but the soul of solidarity within us is equally indifferent to all individualities, having in view only the harmony of the universal life as its exigencies require, impels now the sacrifice of my individuality, now of yours. Perhaps it may well be said here that unselfishness according to the religion of solidarity is as inconsistent with undue self-abnegation as with undue self-assertion. It requires in all cases the fulfillment of the instinct of the whole, which may indifferently coincide with the assertion or abnegation of any particular individuality. A bias in favor of altruism is as obnoxious to its principles as the contrary bias in favor of self.

If the thought occur that the soul of solidarity so removed from all affectations of individuality can scarcely be supposed to inspire principles of individual conduct, it suffices to remember that the soul of solidarity is primarily an instinct of all identity of oneness. In the organic world we may imagine it as the attraction of cohesion. In the various orders of animated nature it appears in the shape of varied laws of mutual independence and attractions. Manifested in man it takes the form of loyalty or patriotism, philanthropy, or sympathy. According to the different forms of individualizations which it animates, the soul of solidarity variously but invariably exerts its centripetal tendency, but its law is always to bind the members of each order first to their own system, and then to the sum of all systems, even as in celestial mechanics the force of gravitation first and most evidently binds the single systems together and then sends all systems alike revolving about some great single center. Thus it is that men are conscious first of the solidarity of the race, then more dimly of that of the universe.

The secret of many diversities in human character consists in the comparative development of the universal and individual life. Poets, mystics, dreamers, seers, and all of that ilk are marked by an overpowering sense of their element of universal soul. On the other hand, men of affairs, energetic, pushing self-asserting people, have in general their universal instincts imperfectly developed. Given great powers, and of such men are made Napoleons and Caesars. Yet such as these are great in the individual plane only. He who has but glimmering visions of the universal stands on a plane infinitely above them. They are great as individuals, a sort of pigmy greatness not to be desired.

All human knowledge consists in the apprehension of differences and resemblances, discords and harmonies of the universe, in analysis and synthesis, in distinction and generalization. The former or analyzing faculties pertain peculiarly to natures strongly developed on the individual side. The latter, the synthetical faculty, the disposition to perceive harmonies and unities rather than discords and differences is characteristic of natures more open on the side toward the universe, in which the instincts of general solidarity are more vivid. What we call talent consists with characters in which the individual side is predominant, but genius, which is but a vivid realization of the universal is the dower only of natures dominated by impulses from that side. The genius is never self-conscious, while the afflatus in upon him. He is beside himself and thus delivers his oracle of the universal, himself a priest of the infinite.

Telescopic and microscopic are the two windows through which man looks out, the former opening on the infinite, the latter on the infinitesimal. Neither window should be obscured nor ignored. Not the Indian Buddhist in ecstatic contemplation seeking to merge himself in God in disregard of his active status as an individual, not the self seeker in the insanity of individualism, concentrating his being in microscopic activities (equally microscopic whether they concern faggots or empires, since they are pursued in the spirit of individualism), neither of these is the ideal man. But rather he whose spirit dwells among the stars and in all time, but whose hands are as deft with the most menial as with the mightiest tasks through which the promptings of the soul of solidarity can find expression, who turns his hands with equal readiness to founding empires and washing beggars' feet, holding all tasks in equal honor, since with him the infinite motive overshadows the deed itself, at best infinitesimal and all questions of its success or failure. It is indeed a pitiable endeavor that seeks to satisfy the cravings for grandeur and boundlessness inherent in the soul by piling Pelion on Ossa in achievements undertaken in the spirit of personal aggrandizement. Alexander, thus seeking to fill the void within him, must needs eternally weep for new worlds to conquer although forever conquering. Yet there is a possibility, a secret of satisfying even this hunger. But it is not by quantity of deeds, but by quality of motives, the spirit in which the deeds are done. The largest deeds of the individual must forever remain infinitesimal, but the spirit of the meanest deed may be infinite, all satisfying. Poor Alexander had his problem by the wrong end. As individuals we are indeed limited to a narrow spot in today, but as universalists we inherit all time and space. More and more to make the larger life the true and central; the individual, inferior, accidental, be the end of our philosophy.

There is a conscious solidarity of the universe toward the intuition of which we must struggle, that it may become to us, not a logical abstraction, but a felt and living fact. As individuals we shall never be complete. The completest man lacks of completion the rest of the universe. Part, then, with the feeling of externalibility to the universe,

which coupled with the sense of utter ignorance and powerlessness, is so full of despair. Believe that your sympathy with the infinite being, infinite extension, infinite variety, is a pledge of identity. Above all, disabuse your mind of the notion that this life is essentially incomplete and preliminary in its nature and destined to issue in some final state. For this notion there is no warrant in reason nor in any proper interpretation of intuitions. Time is not a vestibule of eternity but a part of it. We are now living our immortal lives. This present life is its own perfect consummation, its own reason and excuse. The life of infinite range that our intuitions promise us lies even now open round about us. The avenues leading to it, the vistas opening upon it are those universal instincts that continually stir us, and which, if followed out, would lead us thither. It is our own dull lack of faith that causes us to regard them as if of no present but only of future significance, that places our heaven ever in some dim land of tomorrow instead of all about us, in the eternal present.

The individuality dies, the soul never. It is inconceivable how it could taste an immortality more perfect than that it now enjoys. Nor can a life of wider scope be imagined than that the soul already takes hold of by its universal instincts, and which by the culture of those instincts is even now, more and infinitely more, realizable by us. But as the Christian believes, strives that he may enter the mystical Kingdom of Heaven, so also the infinite enlargement of life spoken of awaits only those who strive after it in a like spirit.

In the universal instincts within us we are given sure and certain lodestones, that we must interpret by meditation and follow with enthusiasm and a faith whereof the steadily increasing force and clearness of our intuitions will afford constant justification. Surely a more engaging mode of life than its own infinite enlargement we could not set before us. What respect can be claimed for aspiration after other forms and higher grades of life by those who are too dull to imagine the present infinite potentialties of their souls? When will men learn to interpret their intuitions of heaven and infinite things in the present, instead of forever in the future tense?

Lest it be supposed that the theory of life set forth in this essay is necessarily antithetical to its conclusions, it may be well to suggest what should be quite obvious, that the method of individualizations, by which a man combines a personal and impersonal being, illustrates a possible mode of existence of superior beings or of a Supreme Being, a being as distinctly personal as is man and developed impersonally to a degree.....

(1887. Further comments by Edward Bellamy.) Last pages seem to be lost, but as I recall the paper, there were but a few more paragraphs, one of them setting forth that the religion of Solidarity was in no way inconsistent with belief in a personal God. Since we ourselves are at once personals and individuals, so superior beings might be conceived by the Supreme Being. I believe the argument was so.)

(Concluded)

Social Workers Attack the Causes of Distress

I would see you enlisted as soldiers not in a new cause but in an old one. I would ask your loyalty not to a new faith but to an old one which for a while has been lost to sight. This administration is struggling to return to a lost democracy; it is trying to do it through a discipline of groups which oppress the individual. We stand face to face with a clear choice and all of us have to take sides. Either we are to have a closed system or an open one. Either we are to give people access to income which they have earned as a right, or we are to give them pittances on charity . . The challenge is an open one to our society. The opportunity is great. The time is now.

That was the note we started on—for the Conference did not really swing into action until the second night, when Assistant Secretary Tugwell spoke to the evening meeting. The first two days had been useful, but uninspired. We had gone steadily about our business, the three great sections and twelve divisions meeting and moving slowly ahead at their routine job of summing up the past year and planning for the future. The temper of those first two days was one of disillusion—almost cynicism. The occasional speaker who commended us as saviors of the nation's peace, or angels of charity ministering to the suffering and needy, met with scanty applause. Those audiences knew only too well what the "charity" they were dispensing meant in dollars and cents, in bread and bacon. They had done the best they could, and had been paid for it. That was that—and please omit the flowers. We hadn't come there to be patted on the back. We had given up all hope of miracles just around the corner. We had settled down to a generation of hard, slow, distasteful work, and were looking for simple and practical suggestions as to how the immediate difficulties could be ironed out; relief standards raised to some degree of accuracy; responsibilities classified and divided between public and private agencies; "social group work" and "social case work" defined, the points where they touched or diverged discussed; health maintained through medical care included in relief budgets, or by insurance, or both; children protected as fully as possible against the day of judgment when the sins of the fathers will surely be visited on the next generation, and some kind of training "on the job" devised for the new recruits in public welfare work. Even in those first two days certain principles had begun to emerge:

1. Since relief is the best we can hope for at the moment we will fight for adequate relief, including food, shelter, clothing, insurance and medical care.
2. We will not, if we can help it, sacrifice the future to the present, since that is poor economy from the long view.
3. We will work toward work relief rather than direct relief, and cash rather than kind.
4. We want a new set of public welfare laws.
5. We will do all in our power to gain these ends within the framework of our present government.

This is not to say that there were no dissenting voices. There were a few who feared even these principles as too radical, and more who despised them as too moderate. But if the majority voice of that conference had spoken at six o'clock on Tues-

day, May 22nd, we believe that is how it would have spoken.

Then Secretary Tugwell came to lift some of those principles out of the realm of personal convictions onto the plane of a national policy, to enlarge them with a denial of "rugged individualism," which regimented the many for the benefit of the few, to proclaim the New Deal as a higher standard of individualism, to attack the sanctity of property rights, if by that we meant the "sacred right of the individual to private advantage over others if he can get it," and to call on us for help in "reorganizing the system which brought this disaster upon us all. As social workers, whose job it is to make people's lives easier, you must help the community move forward into new social conceptions . . . we must modify the old idea of a personal salvation and case work, in which it is said to be sufficient to adjust the individual to a society which itself needs to be changed and is changing. Your task is not only to help the individual but also to assist in attacking the causes of his distress."

Here and there, all the next day, a voice would be raised in some meeting to question: *"Is* that my duty? or am I a cog of a huge machine, whose duty is clearly defined by the other cogs, which must all keep moving in response to a master hand which presses a button or pulls a lever?" Every time such a voice was raised the Conference answered, "No, your duty is to think and act as a free-born American citizen, in a land of free speech and action, to use what power and influence you have to change things which need changing." But some were thinking, "I have a treble duty: to the agency, government or individuals who employ me, to myself as a person and to the people I must help. How can I balance and adjust these responsibilities so that they do not conflict and destroy each other? What can I take back from this Conference to my boards and committees who sent me here to think and study how the work in which they believe can be more wisely done?"

For the words we had heard cut two ways. If we are to be critical, if we are to think for ourselves, not even the Federal Emergency Relief Administration shall dictate our thinking. We had been assured that the government could be trusted, and urged to go back to our communities as prophets of the New Deal. But—as we said at the beginning—this was a skeptical Conference. Swept and stirred as it was by the oratory of a great statesman, it saw gaps and inconsistencies in the Federal program which it could not approve. And so his words, unconsciously, paved the way in part for what was coming.

Now to go back to the beginning. One of the dissenting voices was that of Mary Van Kleeck. From the first day—and before the first day she had been saying, to relatively small groups of people, "The changes you hope for can never be made under our present form of government, which is the creature of the economic system that created it. The New Deal is nothing more nor less than the use of power to maintain the status quo. There can be no true democracy in a society where one man has power to exploit another man."

She had found an ardent following among many of the younger and more radical social workers, but she would not, it is likely, have stampeded the Conference if its president, William Hodson, had not taken the occasion of the annual dinner to call public attention to the fact that the government of the United States had been attacked by a member of the American Association of Social Workers—a fact which he deplored. Many of us agreed with him heartily, but questioned the wisdom of such a rebuke at a dinner which was in itself sufficient answer to Miss Van Kleeck, since 2,500 members of the Conference had paid $1.75 each to do public honor to Harry Hopkins, the official representative of the administration. Wise or unwise, it was done—and the whole issue dignified beyond its merits, as well as lowered to the level of a personal altercation. Every one who heard Mr. Hodson must now hear Miss Van Kleeck, not only to be informed on both sides of an important issue but to watch a brilliant and daring woman defend the American tradition of free speech and the principles in which she believed. From that minute on she swept the Conference off its feet. To be sure, the sections and divisions went steadily on grinding out policies and principles, discussing methods and techniques. But as Jacob Kepecs thoughtfully remarked when it was all over—for the first time in a National Conference of Social Work, the conservatives had the side shows, the radicals the main tent. Where Mary Van Kleeck went, there went the crowd. When Mary Van Kleeck spoke, huge audiences sat breathless and auditoriums rocked with applause. Young radicals went whooping off after her like a Georgia fox hunt in full swing. Here was their hope, made articulate. Here was their leader. Here was courage—and last, but not least, here was the great American public, watching a good fight.

When she gathered up her arguments and held them out to us, was it our minds she stirred? What did she give us that we could take home and put into practice?

The collectivism which is the aim of communism.

Is that what we really want—for ourselves or any other American whose forefathers came to this land in the hope of owning something that was truly theirs?

We must avoid the pacifism which is defeatism.

Is that what we really want? Are we ready, today, for all its implications?

Perhaps you will find help among the most radical elements of your communities, the people whom you would probably rather not be associated with.

Are we prepared to do it?

These are the things she said on that last Saturday, when she was challenged to be specific.

One thing she told us that we could take back with us:

Go home and use your brains as you have never used them before.

But that, again, cuts both ways.

If only the Conference had lasted two days more! If only everyone who heard Miss Van Kleeck could have heard Eduard Lindeman's plea for education by the living word, and his specific recommendations for our future action! He spoke to hundreds, where she reached thousands, but this, in part, is what he said:

Choose a goal which *can be realized,* and work toward that. Too many fine radicals are lost through frustration.

Seek out the policies of the present administration in which

you can believe, and put all your strength with and behind them.

Reserve the right to criticize and condemn when things are not going the way they should.

Now there is something we can bite into. And to it, something might be added. Many, many people at this Conference were saying—whom can we trust? Can we trust the arguments of the capitalist, defending his power? He has something to lose. Can we trust a government which cannot enforce all its policies—some of which seem to us unwise, others unjust? Can we trust the great masses of labor who have something to gain by a class struggle? Can we trust the leaders of these same workers, who—if Mary Van Kleeck is to be believed—have betrayed them into the hands of the Administration?

Isn't there something in each of these that we can trust? Must we stratify and crystallize this nation? Can't we trust the wisdom and generosity of those owners of property who, so far, haven't failed us? Can't we trust the *possibilities* of the "masses" to develop new leadership, if they are not exploited, oppressed, and misled? Can't we trust many specific parts of the New Deal, and wait a little longer to see how it works out? Can't we trust, and appeal to, the fundamentally American sense of fair play, the decency, courage and generosity which are in us all—as truly as selfishness and ignorance and cowardice have a place in every human heart? If we can't trust these things, and appeal to these things, wherever and in whomever we find them—ourselves included—we might as well give up. Above all—can't we trust our intelligences, rather than our emotions, and "use our brains as we have never used them before?"

Should the radical note have been soft-pedalled, in bringing this report to you? I think not. It wouldn't have been true. If these things can happen to social workers in Kansas City, they can happen to anybody, anywhere. Should more have been said about Harry Hopkins' assurances that old age pensions, compulsory health insurance, a limited form of unemployment insurance, "a system of labor exchanges second to none" and rural rehabilitation through subsistence homesteads, were as good as promised us? The Conference took these pronouncements in its stride and spent little more time in discussing them than we have spent here—in proportion to the whole.

The "living words" that were spoken in Kansas City have gone home to forty-eight states. Four thousand four hundred and eighteen registered delegates have carried them back to their communities. They are being discussed, today, from Maine to California, from Oregon to Florida. Mary Van Kleeck's words, Eduard Lindeman's words, Secretary Tugwell's words, William Hodson's words, and the final words of the Right Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, Executive Director of New York City's Catholic Charities and newly elected President of the Conference for 1936, are making their impact, today, on every state in the Union.

"Consolidate your gains," said Father Keegan, and spoke wisely of social legislation, housing, employment exchanges, public works, the integration of a progressive agricultural with the industrial program, and the *extension rather than abolition* of the right to own goods." He counseled a sane optimism, spoke of social work as a "tremendous and continuing cause," and of "charity as the bond of perfection."

HELEN CODY BAKER.

A New Declaration of Independence

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one part of the people to dissolve the Political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the parties of the State the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to this separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government or economic system becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that long-established social and party systems should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, then to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them to virtual economic slavery, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such political and financial control, and to provide new safeguards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of the working classes, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of society and government.

The history of the present capitalistic economic system is a history of repeated injuries, injustices, and usurpations, all having as their direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over the lives, the fortunes, and the destinies of a majority of all peoples in all lands.

To prove this, let the following facts which constitute an indictment of the present capitalistic system, be submitted to a candid world:

It has deprived millions of people of their inherent and indisputable Right to Work, and filled the land with soup-kitchens, relief agencies, suicides, and black despair.

It has destroyed the morale and character of millions, and shattered their faith in social institutions, human brotherhood, government, and God.

It has, even in times of so-called "Prosperity," created and shaped to its purpose a vast and ever-increasing "standing army of the unemployed."

It has concentrated the national wealth into the hands of

less than 2 per cent of the population, and given the power of life and death over others to cruel, blind, incompetent, and vicious men and special interests.

It has pauperized millions of self-respecting, home-loving, hard-working citizens and left in its wake a train of deserted wives, abandoned families, foreclosed mortgages and broken homes.

It has filled the land with bootleggers, speakeasies and dope-peddlers, and created illicit dives of the vilest and most nauseating character, patronized by the very dregs of social depravity.

It has exacted a toll of murder, insanity, pauperism, and crime unheard of hitherto in any so-called civilization, either ancient or modern.

It has made *PROFITS* the modern Moloch which is devouring the poor, and, in all lands, robbing the unorganized and the weak of a large percentage of their hard-earned and slender substance.

It has tricked us into fratricidal strife between nations and races, and converted our best and most promising youth into cannon-fodder and carrion at the behest of the international bankers and politicians.

It has saddled us with vast military and naval establishments and devoured our substance through taxation to support and maintain useless and destructive standing armies in times of peace.

It has, by oppression and un-American conditions in industry, forced us to strike against intolerable tactics and practices, and then beat us to the ground in hopeless surrender by the use of thugs, private armies, and strike-breakers in the employ of our capitalist masters.

It has honeycombed our labor organizations with spies and informers, and waged a relentless and underhanded warfare upon Labor organizations and those who attempted to better the conditions of the poor.

It has calloused the hearts of neighbors and friends, and raised up bitterness and hatred between members of the same families, trades, businesses, and professions.

It has bathed the hands of men in their brothers' blood, and caused hate and suspicion to reign in the place of confidence and good-will.

It has turned peaceful, law-abiding citizens into panhandlers, gangsters and criminals, and made self-respecting labor a hissing and a by-word among men.

It has canonized the bootlegger, the gambler, and the speculator, and created a condition wherein the accepted code is evidenced by the slurring insinuation "only dubs work."

It has substituted the lure of "easy money" for honest work, and has thereby destroyed the stamina and morale of our young men.

It has enticed millions into debt by installment buying, and filled the land with lawyers, loan-sharks, credit-managers, detectives, investigators, constables, sheriffs and other useless and parasitical enemies of the common welfare.

It has made us a nation of bluffers, four-flushers, and confidence men; and has filled the land with swindlers, charlatans, salesmen, brokers and other get-rich-quick artists.

It has destroyed honesty, frankness and fair-dealing between men, and substituted therefor the doctrine of "caveat emptor."

It has victimized the weak-minded, the weak-willed, and the gullible, and turned their faith and trust into gall and wormwood.

It has deceived the unsuspecting and betrayed the confidence of women and little children.

It has robbed the widow, the orphan, and the aged of their life-savings, and deprived them of their inheritance in their hour of need.

It has worshipped and deified financial and commercial success above all other virtues, and rewarded cleverness and sharp practice at the expense of sincerity and faithful service.

It has encouraged substitution and shoddy in place of honest value, and has built up unconscionable profits through misrepresentation and fradulent advertising.

It has encouraged secret monopolies in the public utility field and in the necessaries of life, and made it increasingly difficult for individuals to own and operate their own small businesses.

It has made "selling" more vital to success than production, and has diverted millions from useful pursuits to the idea of "getting a living" out of the world without giving anything in return.

It has inflicted soul-destroying drudgery on helpless millions in return for a mere pittance capable of barely supplying the animal wants of its victims.

It has forced more than half of our population to live in hovels, dens, and tenement-houses unfit for human habitation.

It has destroyed home ownership, and made it impossible, because of prohibitive costs, for millions to own homes or establish a normal family life.

It has destroyed initiative and ambition, and forced countless millions into the ranks of mediocrity and of those who toil without hope.

In place of happy, care-free, solid citizenry, it has given us a nation of anxious, shifty, querulous men and women, old and broken before their proper prime.

It has fostered and spawned insanity and feeble-mindedness, and caused one-fifth of our public revenues to be spent for the care of the mentally and spiritually sick.

It has multipled nervous diseases, made us a nation of neurotics, and hastened the breakdown and premature retirement of one-fifth of the entire population.

It has multiplied insanity to such a degree that one out of every two beds in our hospitals is occupied by an insane patient.

It has filled our jails with thousands of socially mal-adjusted individuals, and brought upon the relatives and dependents of such people untold hardship and disgrace.

It has saddled society with the care and maintenance of millions of misfits, unable to adjust themselves to the artificial requirements of an acquisitive and competitive social system.

It has made the American home a nightmare, destructive of many priceless spiritual and cultural values now forever relegated to the limbo of oblivion.

It has robbed boyhood of its dreams and ideals, and stolen from girlhood its innocence and charm. It has made brazen the tender, sweet-souled heart of youth.

It has substituted sex-madness and sex-appeal for the normal and wholesome relations between the sexes, and, through greed for profits, polluted the minds and morals of little children, rushing them prematurely into the arena of adult life and destroying their enjoyment of the innocent pleasures of adolescence.

It has made it impossible for millions to marry, thus fostering social vice and moral degradation in both sexes.

It has made puppets and time-servers of millions of school-children, and suppressed and distorted the healthy and natural instincts of youth so valuable to the normal development of both the individual and of society.

It has fostered and condoned open and flagrant violation of law and decency, and winked at offences against chastity, decency, and public morals.

It has disillusioned and debauched the youth of both sexes throughout the length and breadth of our fair land.

It has crushed and stifled hope and ideals, and strangled the legitimate ambitions and aspirations of untold millions.

It has ignored the demands of human-nature for a sane, well-rounded, orderly, harmonious life, and nurtured instead a feverish and morbid thirst for thrills and excitement.

It has besmirched, bedraggled, and bedeviled the political life of our time, and made of our governmental affairs a stench in the nostrils of decent people.

It has made it impossible to elect upright and decent men and women to public office, because of unequal distribution of wealth and the private control of the media of public information.

It has debauched and degraded our electorate through the pollution of the press until the voters are so befuddled that they often vote exactly opposite to their own interests.

It has corrupted the public service, the law, the clergy, and the press, and has prostituted high office for selfish gain.

It has mulcted the long-suffering tax-payers of billions of dollars, much of which has been dissipated and wasted through mismanagement, graft, and incompetence.

It has made our adult population a nation of scoffers and cynics.

It has divorced religion from life, and made a mockery of things sacred.

It has depopulated the churches and rendered the teachings of Christianity sterile and inept.

It has made deaf the ear of compassion and pity for the sufferings of the less fortunate of our fellowmen.

It has frozen and congealed the well-springs of justice and the living-waters of the human-spirit.

It has soured and curdled the milk of human-kindness.

It has put profit above service and elevated getting above giving.

Finally, it has unwittingly released energies and forces which it cannot control or harness, and has thereby encompassed its own dissolution and destruction.

In every stage of these oppressions the people have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Their repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

A social system whose character is thus marked by every act which brands it as tyrannical and unjust is unfit longer to control and shape the destinies of a free people.

Nor have we been lacking in attention to the necessity of warning our capitalistic brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts on their part to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances in which we now find ourselves in contrast with our former estate. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the tie of our common origin and kindred to disavow and desist from their usurpations of the powers of government which they have wielded to our undoing and distress. We have made clear to them that their failure to correct these abuses must inevitably disrupt the once friendly relations between us.

They, too, have been deaf to the voices of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces their inhumanity, and henceforth hold them as we hold the remainder of their kind—to be social enemies and destroyers of the common good. We have no quarrel with them as individuals, but the system which they stand for is morally abhorrent to us.

We, therefore, the representatives of a better social order, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of every state and territory throughout the world, solemnly publish and declare that the people of every land shall, and of right ought, to be free and independent of the evils and abuses of capitalism—that all peoples are hereby absolved from all allegiance to capitalist forms, customs, and institutions, and that all connection between democracy and capitalism is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent peoples, the international United States of the world shall have full power to exercise force in the settlement of disputes; conclude peace; contract alliances; levy taxes; establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which free and independent groups have hitherto been rightfully accustomed to do.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to this cause our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

PAUL HARRIS DRAKE.

The Imperial Valley Situation

Report of National Labor Board

The Federal Commission appointed by Hon. Robert F. Wagner of the National Labor Board, Washington, D. C., to investigate conditions in the Imperial Valley, Calif., upon the basis of its inquiry submits the following recommendations:

"1. That Federal and State Governments exercise every power and authority to maintain in fact the rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly, and that men, either citizens or aliens, shall not be harrassed by permanent, temporary, amateur, or self-appointed officers of the law.

"Specifically do we recommend that the apparent violation of the Federal injunction covering the meeting of American Civil Liberties Union in Brawley on January 23, 1934, be probed to the bottom by the United States Department of Justice.

"2. That the Federal Government encourage the organization of workers, in order that collective bargaining may be effective in matters of wages and conditions, both working and living, and that the right to strike and peacefully to picket shall be maintained.

"Specifically do we recommend that the United States Department of Labor send representatives who can speak Spanish to aid the Mexican and Filipino groups, and others, to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining.

"3. That a 'Labor Coordinator' be appointed by the Federal Government to equalize and balance the labor supply, and that, through this Coordinator, preference in employment be given to permanent residents.

"4. That a permanent board of impartial administrators be set up by the Federal Government, to act in matters of dispute regarding wages, long waits in the field, drinking water, contract labor, minimum and maximum hours, employment of women and children, transportation of workers, etc. We recommend this because we believe there are no codes for the protection of agricultural employees.

"5. That the State and County authorities be urged by the United States Public Health Service to improve living quarters (especially those adjacent to the larger centers of population), housing, street improvements, sewage, water supply, and all other determining factors in the health and welfare of the entire community.

"6. That the Federal Government cooperate with the State and County to establish subsistence farms or gardens, to enable the workers to tide over periods of unemployment characteristic of the Imperial Valley.

"7. That the California State Department of Education promote a program of social and economic education, using for that purpose such media as the schools, clubs, churches, fraternal organizations, chambers of commerce, the American Legion, the radio, and the press.

"8. That both State and Federal Governments encourage the growers and shippers to organize, that they may handle intelligently the various problems relating to the successful conduct of their business.

"9. That steps be taken to repatriate aliens (a) who are undesirable and are subject to deportation, and (b) who desire of their own free will to return to their respective countries."

An Experiment in Social Information*

Early in January of each year UNITY carries a list of names of persons who have died in the previous year, "the famous and the infamous, the noted and notorious." From the issue of January 8, 1934 forty such names were selected as a basis for an impromptu test of social information. Accompanying the list of names was a list of occupations and professions, and the subjects were asked to label each name with the correct occupation. The test was intended merely as a temporary teaching device to illustrate one phase of the topic of personality for a class in psychology. It was compiled hastily and arbitrarily. This method of selection, the presence of two clerical errors in the test, and the lack of standardization make it impossible to draw conclusions of any scientific value. But the test proved sufficiently interesting to elicit replies from 131 men students, 146 women students, 21 faculty men, and 23 faculty women—a total of 321. And the results also are interesting enough to warrant a brief report.

The average number of names correctly classified by each of the four groups of persons taking the test is as follows:

	Students	Faculty
Men	5.7 or 14.3%	12.1 or 30.2%
Women	6.1 or 15.3%	12.8 or 32.0%

The original list is shown below. In connection with each name there is given the correct occupational classification, as originally given in UNITY. The percentage of each group who correctly classified each name is also shown. The name of Anton Witek was included in the test, but on account of a clerical error it is here omitted.

Name—Classification	Faculty Men	Faculty Women	Students Men	Students Women
Lawrence Abbott—journalist	5	0	0	0
Felix Adler—religious leader	5	4	0	1
Renee Adoree—actress	66	83	71	91
Irving Babbitt—critic	19	9	1	3
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont—suffragist	24	39	7	5
Stella Benson—novelist	5	26	1	1
Annie Besant—religious leader	48	61	3	3
Earl D. Biggers—novelist	38	43	26	25
Russell Boardman—aviator	0	4	10	1
Marie Cahill—actress	14	13	1	1
Calvin Coolidge—statesman	95	100	93	99
James J. Corbett—pugilist	100	91	92	66
Cyrus H. K. Curtis—publisher	81	74	21	20
William Doak—statesman	43	13	8	7
Mike Donlin—baseball	43	17	41	18
Julia Foraker—hostess	0	0	0	1
John Galsworthy — novelist (dramatist)	81	100	50	76
Edward Grey—statesman	19	26	3	1
Texas Guinan—hostess	95	91	67	62
John G. Hibben—educator	38	26	0	1
Morris Hillquit—socialist	28	4	0	0
Anthony Hope—novelist	24	65	1	9
George Leyques—statesman	0	9	0	0
Arthur McGiffert—church historian	5	0	0	0
Charles W. Morse—financier	5	0	0	1
George Palmer—philosopher	0	4	0	2
Chas. W. Parkhurst—religious leader	19	4	1	1
V. J. Patel—statesman	0	4	0	0
John A. Rodgers—admiral	19	0	1	1
George Saintsbury—critic	24	30	1	1
E. H. Sothern—actor	71	87	8	11
Rose P. Stokes—socialist	19	9	1	1
Alfred Sutro—dramatist	0	13	0	0
Sara Teasdale—poet	62	78	16	44
Webster Thayer—judge	5	9	0	3
Arthur Thompson—scientist	24	9	0	1
Joseph Urban—artist	24	22	2	0
Louis J. Vance—novelist	48	65	19	23
Henry Van Dyke—poet	52	22	11	12

An examination of these figures points to some interesting facts. Each name in the list was correctly identified by at least one person taking the test. But no student was correct on Abbott, Hillquit, Leyques, McGiffert, Patel, or Sutro, and no faculty member was correct on Foraker.

No single name was correctly identified by 100% of all persons taking the test. None was correctly identified by all of the students taking the test, nor by all of the women students, nor by all of the men students. But 100% of the faculty men knew the occupation of Corbett and 100% of the faculty women knew the occupations of Coolidge and Galsworthy. The best record was made by one faculty man who gave 24 correct answers. The best student record was a total of 13 names correct; this record was made by a man.

The names most frequently recognized are as follows: All names recognized by more than 75% of any of the groups are included. This duplicates the information given above, but serves to bring this information more clearly before the eye.

Name	Faculty % Men	Faculty % Women	Students % Men	Students % Women
Adoree	66	83	71	91
Coolidge	95	100	93	99
Corbett	100	91	92	66
Curtis	81	74	21	20
Galsworthy	81	100	50	76
Guinan	95	91	67	62
Sothern	71	87	8	11
Teasdale	62	78	16	44

Perhaps the most amusing feature of the replies is the great variety of occupations assigned to certain names on the list. Calvin Coolidge, remembered by some as a former President of the United States, was listed as financier, journalist, novelist, publisher, judge and educator. Texas Guinan, night club hostess, whose name was correctly recognized by the faculty men as often as that of Coolidge, was described by various persons as pugilist, baseball star, artist, actor, dramatist, scientist and critic. James Corbett, pugilist, the faculty men's favorite, earns the labels of artist, actor, baseball star, publisher, financier, scientist, and judge. Even Adoree, second only to Coolidge in the minds of students, was mistaken for admiral, artist, aviator, dramatist, and hostess. Earl Derr Biggers, author of the Charlie Chan stories, wins eleven titles: statesman, educator, financier, baseball star, admiral, critic, dram-

*On the page following the conclusion of this article will be found the Robinson-Matthews Social Information Test, which we suggest readers of UNITY try on their friends and pass on to teachers for class tests. Permission is hereby given to reprint, provided acknowledgment is made to UNITY.—Editors.

atist, publisher, journalist, poet, and artist. But Cyrus Curtis, publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Ladies Home Journal,* takes the prize for versatility with no less than thirteen occupations to his credit: financier, aviator, actor, judge, statesman, scientist, pugilist, socialist, critic, church historian, admiral, baseball star, and educator.

Such is fame! Perhaps Koheleth was right. "All is vanity and chasing after wind."

ELMO A. ROBINSON and DAISY R. MATTHEWS.

Gandhi

Little man, thin, emaciated
Stripped of every outward sign of manliness.
Shaven head, bare feet, homely in gaunt nakedness,
Spectacle to make street urchins stare
And fling their taunts and laughter after him.
No pockets filled with clinking coins or keys,
No bags outbulging with possessions—things.
Only some goat's milk and a little loom
On which some granny might be prone to weave.
Poor, naked, yet with spirit free,
Unshackled by preponderance of *things*
That chain men's souls and bind them to the wheel
As round and round they go with eyes on goals
That moth and rust corrupt and thieves break through and steal.

Little man, possessed of nothing, yet of everything. No selfish burdens—only mankind's needs;
No weapons—save passive, firm resistance
To greed, injustice, unequal rights of caste.
His country's strength; the world's supreme example.
Were all the leaders of the age his like,
Did men forsake their goals for selfish gain
And rid themselves of shackles, countless things,
And make their brothers' cause their own, their sacred trust,
God's kingdom truly would be ushered in!

MABEL DUNCAN KEMP.

Heathen Lands

All battle-fields are heathen lands,—
Not where men worship wood and stone,
And reach their hands in wonderment,
With groping faith, to gods unknown;
But heathen lands are smoking fields
Where havoc reigns and cities fall,
While armies meet in fear and wrath,
And "Christian" soldiers crawl!

CHARLES G. GIRELIUS

Clouds

Dark mountain pines their pointed tops uplift
To shadowed skies where thunderous clouds pass by,
Chased by the winds across the summer sky,
Wild warriors riding their black horses swift.
So do my thoughts like laden rainclouds drift
Across my mind and chase in memory
Those old uncounted days of ecstasy
That like the sunlight through dark twin clouds sift.

These clouds will break and give the earth to drink,
Full flood the stream, make green the dying grass,
These tears shall deep within my dry heart sink,
Fill empty springs within me as they pass.
Thus, shall my heart refreshed go on her way
And bring to birth the seeds of life's new day.

MARY MORRIS DUANE.

The Study Table

The Religion of Communism

Alongside Christianity, Communism today is a *bona fide* religion, a "religion without revelation."* In his surprising standpoint, Mr. Wood is in agreement with other Englishmen like Sidney Webb and Middleton Murry. In fact, he subscribes in part to the contention of the latter than the movement is one religion in the modern world which is very much alive. In present-day Oxford, the home of lost causes, the Oxford Group bids for the support of the students, only to find that a larger number have joined the October Club, a Communist organization.

Viewing Communism as a religion, Mr. Wood describes it as a kind of secularization of Calvinism. As an alternative and rival religion, Communism is not losing ground to Christianity, but rather is making inroads on the latter's preserves, particularly among the younger generation and in academic circles. Our author speaks with some knowledge on this matter, as he is a sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and a Lecturer on the New Testament at Birmingham, England.

Though the hammer and sickle on the jacket of the book may call to mind first the Soviet Union, Mr. Wood really addresses his argument and analysis to an examination of Marxist theory, and to an account of "Das Kapital." That unread book's two major premises, dialectical materialism and economic determinism, Mr. Wood pits against New Testament Christianity, that he might show the rivals' essential incompatibilities and note their few resemblances. In refutation of historical materialism, the author would call attention to the importance of man-made tools, every one of which marks "a triumph of mind over matter." In disapproval of the hypothesis of the dialectical movement in history, Mr. Wood would have it that its unsoundness and artificiality are inherent in the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic, which "belongs to those theories which are true until they are stated." And in giving the lie to economic determinism, the author rejects the theory's centralization of the class struggle, denies the absoluteness and dogmatism of the principle's determinism and necessity, and lays it down that the assumption that mankind's economic life "must form a closed system, which is what it is, independent of all other sides of men's life," is invalid.

Then there is the demonstrably non-moral side of Marxism—class war, blind force and bloody revolution. On this aspect, Mr. Wood is unbending in his pacifism. As a line of action the humanitarianism of Christians is diametrically opposed to the violence of Communists. Indeed (the author insists) those who bear the name of Christ must neither support nor have any truck with Communist proletarian movements. Mr. Wood holds, moreover, that the one sample country today that professes Communism has borne out the movement's primary evil—the denial of individual liberty and the negation of personal worth. Soviet Russia, he contends, has suppressed the liberty of its peasant majority, for the benefit of a proletariat minority. In the name of the welfare of the greatest number of citizens, the masses, it has annihilated the *Kulaks et al,* a counter-revolutionary class of "citizens." And in the annihilation of one class, says Mr. Wood, Communism is demonstrably a negation of God. For it has definitely rejected the moral and superhuman values of

*"Christianity and Communism," by H. G. Wood. Published by the Round Table Press. $2.

Christianity that include the unique dignity before God of *every* human personality.

Another underlying doctrine, equalitarianism, is at the root of the Communist philosophy and policy. For its sake the Communists scorn the elemental rights to liberty. The author, however, maintains that equality, as well as liberty, must be modified, inasmuch as "equality is not an ultimate. It is a means to an end." Mr. Wood professes to discern no great accomplishment of Russian Communism. What first fruits it has produced, he feels, are not the exclusive and peculiar achievements of a Bolshevist form of government and society. Indeed, greater progress and better results might already have been attained under another regime.

The author's thesis is self-evident: "I believe we must reject Marxism as a system." Marx's authoritativeness is called into question by the unsound and unscientific parts of his theory. In practice, Marxism fails to meet, and only exacerbates, mankind's perplexity and bewilderment. Marx himself was overmuch taken up with fallible philosophical abstractions, with the result that in his system he confused basic human values, blurred his own vision, and in effect placed a stumbling-block in the way of humanity's progress. "We sin if we wear his blinkers and mistake them for spectacles."

Nevertheless, despite his systematic rejection of the Marxian theory, the fair-minded author is constrained to recognize that there is some truth in it. With even-handed justice, Mr. Wood calls attention to some positively creditable items in the system; such as parts of its economics, its dialectic, its humanitarianism and idealism. Commenting on and paraphrasing those popular slogans of Marx's, viz., that of (workers) "unite," on the one side, and on the other, that of (to each according to his) "needs," the tolerant author is most edifying. On the one hand, he approves of the "cooperation" principle, while disapproving (superficially, we think) of its narrow and provincial base: "all previous culture is class-culture, and as such to be scrapped," when Communism is in the saddle. On the other, the humane author popularizes Marx, laying down the economic order's first task as the whole people's "material well-being. . . Necessities must be provided for all before luxuries are provided for any."

Judging from Mr. Wood's few righteous proposals, the I. L. P. of Great Britain would turn him away, though the gradualist Socialist Party would indubitably make a place for him. Somewhat after the fashion of the late Mr. Rauschenbusch and the remarkable Mr. Ward in this country, our author sees as common and basic to both Christianity and politics the comprehensive and catholic labor movement. Mr. Wood's feeling is that British Labor is not oblivious to its ties to Anglican Christianity. So he pleads for "the constructive citizenship" that will achieve the peaceable establishment in England of a just social order, governed and ordered by "Christian British labor." Pursuing the traditional British middle course, and betraying the British genius for compromise, Mr. Wood sketchily maps out the road to his Utopia. The lion and the lamb shall lie down together; all contending groups and parties in the country are to keep their common aim in view, make concessions, and cooperate in the building of the half-way house between capitalism and Socialism. Destruction of private property and enterprise that would accompany the "plunge into the unknown seas of Socialist experiment," the good author deplores, while he comes out for constructiveness, as

(*Continued on page* 179)

War Resistance Among Laymen

Declarations from clergymen that they will never again sanction or engage in war have become increasingly frequent. But such commitments on the part of laymen are made less often, and for this reason the recent action taken by the Young Men's Club of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City, deserves emphasis. Under the leadership of their pastor, Allan Knight Chalmers, members of this group have issued the following anti-war declaration:

I have quietly considered what I would do if my nation should again be drawn into war.

I am not taking a pledge, because I do not know what I would do when the heat of the war mood is upon the country. But in a mood of calm consideration I do today declare that *I cannot reconcile the way of Christ with the practice of war.*

I do therefore set down my name to be kept in the records of my church, so that it will be for me a reminder if war should come; and will be a solemn declaration to those who hold to this conviction in time of war that I believe them to be right; and *I do desire with my whole mind and heart that I shall be among those who keep to this belief.*

I set down my name to make concrete my present thought upon the question of war, and declare my purpose to think and talk with others about it, that my belief in the way of Christ shall become operative in this and in other questions which now confuse our thought and action.

This is a movement which should sweep across the nation. Ministers who have already publicly announced their determination not to approve of or give voluntary support to any future war should take the lead in urging laymen to put themselves on record in some such way as this. Here is a new kind of church roll. May its signatories soon become legion!

—Editorial in the *World Tomorrow*

Robinson-Matthews Social Information Test

The following list of names is selected from a larger list of noted and notorious persons who died during the year 1933, published in the issue of UNITY for January 8, 1934, edited by John Haynes Holmes. In front of each name write the *number* of the appropriate classification.

NAMES

Lawrence Abbott	Mike Donlin	V. J. Patel
Felix Adler	Julia Foraker	John A. Rodgers
Renee Adoree	John Galsworthy	George Saintsbury
Irving Babbitt	Edward Grey	E. H. Sothern
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	Texas Guinan	Rose P. Stokes
Stella Benson	John G. Hibben	Alfred Sutro
Annie Besant	Morris Hillquit	Sara Teasdale
Earl D. Biggers	Anthony Hope	Webster Thayer
Russell Boardman	George Leyques	Arthur Thompson
Marie Cahill	Arthur C. McGiffert	Joseph Urban
Calvin Coolidge	Charles W. Morse	Louis J. Vance
James J. Corbett	George Palmer	Henry Van Dyke
Cyrus H. K. Curtis	Charles H. Parkhurst	Anton Witek
William Doak		

CLASSIFICATION

1. Actor
2. Admiral
3. Artist
4. Aviator
5. Baseball star
6. Church historian
7. Critic
8. Dramatist
9. Educator
10. Financier
11. Hostess
12. Journalist
13. Judge
14. Novelist
15. Philosopher
16. Poet
17. Publisher
18. Pugilist
19. Religious leader
20. Scientist
21. Socialist
22. Statesman
23. Suffragist

of socialized ownership and management. "The art of bossing must be unlearned."

Concluding his main thesis, Mr. Wood reiterates that an inhumane and unChristian Communism may only be met and countered by a more ethical Christianity that "means business," a social gospel and an applied Christianity. But at one American professor of the latter, Mr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Mr. Wood takes a hit, getting in his "shot" after our own worthy Editor, who in these columns "sailed into" the scintillating Union theologian. Feeling that capitalism *delenda est,* and that Communism appears to be the logical sequel, Mr. Niebuhr, while admittedly opposed to violent revolution, at once and in the same breath (controversially) acts as its doughty and formidable apologist.

NATH ESSELL.

Correspondence by a Cleric*

Those who have read Professor Ames' more technical books on religion, or who like the writer of this review, have sat in his class room and heard him develop his idea of God, will be much interested to see with what ease he applies his conceptions in his pulpit utterances. For whatever else we may think of the ideas of this preacher-philosopher, his sermons are obviously intended to help people in their practical problems, and in that we cannot see how they can fall short of success. There is so much human substance to these sermons that they cannot fail to be inspiring to any sympathetic reader. If, for many members of his congregation, this leader makes it possible both to accept the new world view of science and to cling to theistic phraseology, that is probably one of their greatest needs because of their early conditioning. More humanistic than most modernists, he is none the less doing the work of the modernist in bridging the widening gap between the old and the new ways of thought. Quietly he lets in at the back door the supernaturalistic attitudes he has seemed to usher out at the front.

There must, however, be many critical listeners who come into his church and go out unsatisfied. They must find his talk of God and prayer a hindrance, something which stands between them and the substance of his words. They will be unable to follow the analogy by which he compares God to Alma Mater, or Uncle Sam or a Corporation. Though he would deny it, the God he speaks of must seem to them to be merely a convenient fiction. They would be inclined rather to agree with Baker Brownell when in "Earth is Enough" he claims that the world will be unchanged if we leave out Professor Ames' idea of God altogether.

The title of the volume is taken from the opening and closing sermons which are cast in the form of open letters to God and the Devil, a plan that is, so far as we know, original with Professor Ames. Surely many of his college listeners will be quick-witted enough to realize that his Devil is just as real and logical a person as his God. His Devil is reached by the same process as his God and both are poetic, but apparently superfluous, embellishments to a thoroughly naturalistic world. For those to whom talk of God, to be convincing, must refer to and prove not merely a Santa Claus god, but *THE GOD,* a real personality, who is conscious will, intelligence and purpose, and who controls cosmic events, it will be necessary to overlook what appears to be a pseudo-theology in order to elicit the human value of these sermons. We can understand that there are plenty of institutional reasons for perpetuating the old symbols, but only on a short-time, opportunistic basis. The sooner thinkers break with old symbols rather than continue to read the new meaning into them, the sooner will the church reach a sound and realistic basis of permanent usefulness.

EDWIN H. WILSON.

*"Letters to God and the Devil," by Edward Scribner Ames. New York, Harper & Brothers. $1.00.

Storm Over Asia

"Chinese" Gordon*—of whom only the most tantalizing glimpses were afforded in "The End of a Chapter" and elsewhere—now takes the stage at Mr. Wortham's ominous invocation, to stride full-length across almost the entire Victorian era in an epic drama opening with the Crimean War and closing with the catastrophe of Khartoum. After a brief preludal bow (in which Gordon's utterly enigmatic soul stands revealed) the dramatist, with a more than Wagnerian accompaniment, sends him surging on his torrid career to its melodramatic denouement over a way lit with the incandescence of blazing events: turbulent youth; Sevastopol; Bessarabia; China and the Allied destruction of the Summer Palace, together with the crushing of the Taiping revolt; *Chinese Gordon;* a quiet interlude in England; governorship of the Sudan and unremitting war on the slave trade; India, Equatoria, and broils with the viceroys; and then, as curtain, Egypt and the martyrdom, wherein Gordon the man, sacrificed upon an infernal pyre, passes as a pillar of fire into eternal legend.

Frequent and full, this production is also one in which background is preeminent. Russia, dark, slumberous, and barbaric, begins the shifting sequence, which changes forthwith to China, land of pagodas, chaos and corpses, where the soldier came, saw—and, after conquering, was conquered by the service of humanity. Then England—and months of medieval meditation in a rose garden, during which sainthood flowers like a lotus within this strange spirit—after which follows a two years satrapy of equatorial Africa, succeeded by dictatorship of the torrid, wind-swept Sudan, while the last act of the drama is also staged in Africa, wherein the will-to-Christ incarnate meets its counterpart, the Mohammedan Mahdi: an unearthly Armageddon whose reverberations sound like thunder from a collision of worlds. The supporting cast includes Li Hung Chang; the Khedive Ismail; Lord Cromer; Leopold of Belgium; Gladstone; and the Victorian epoch.

A mighty action—a perfect background—both are merged into a unified whole; and from the resultant opus emerges "Chinese" Gordon, a fantastic compound of paradox: mystical and methodical; saintly and sardonic; a virtuoso of war and a devotee of peace; an eager voyager from life to death—soldier, statesman, hero, martyr, adventurer, saint. In this splendid spectacle of storm over Asia, Mr. Wortham has recreated both the man and the moment, to make us realize that inscrutable figure "whose soul still marches in the great army of idealists whom the world has not known how to use."

ROBERT C. SCHALLER.

*"Chinese Gordon." By H. E. Wortham. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 162)

shirts and the insignia of Hitlerism march through our streets, organize meetings, proclaim Hitlerism as their faith, and drape the Swastika over the Stars and Stripes. Let us not be deceived. There are thousands of American citizens enrolled under the same banner of tyranny and ready to join in a movement to establish the reign of force in the United States. A country that could supply millions to the Ku Klux Klan, with its mongrel imbecilities, could supply millions to the Silver Shirts, the Green Shirts, the Black Shirts or whatever color of garment that is to cloak the new destinies.

"This is a menace to every decency now cherished in the United States. All sciences, all arts, all letters, all education are to be enslaved and degraded to the level of the drill-sergeant's intelligence—and that is hardly fair to the drill-sergeant. Toleration, mercy, generosity and fair play are to be extinguished in the dark night of brute power; while all women are to be debased to the level of breeding-animals to supply soldiers for berserker wars. Labor organizations are to be crushed. Labor is to be enslaved to capital, and business is to be enslaved to the rich and very specific interests, like war-industries, in a wide sense, to the ruin of other industries — interests that stand behind and dominate the marching puppets of the parade-ground. Contractual rights and obligations are to be flouted and every person's home and business made liable to invasion.

"What then, is the task before us? It is to strike at this menace in every form and guise which it assumes. It is to deny tolerance to those who proclaim tyranny as an eternal principle. All instrumentalities at our hands must be employed. The Congressional investigation now under way must be supported, and continued as long as there is a marching Shirt in the United States. The Department of Justice remembering the activities of Von Papen, Boy-ed & Co. in the old days, must keep track of Hitler's agents in the new peril. The press, the forum and the school must be employed to expose the low, diabolical philosophy of Hitlerism and strike at every manifestation of its sinister influence." —New York *Herald-Tribune.*

Buchmanism and India

We in India are very much given to imitating the West. Especially is this true of Indian Christianity. Every religious movement that originates in Europe or America finds its way sooner or later, sooner rather than later, to India and secures a following in some corner or other of this vast country. How else satisfy the masses that have come into the fold, ask the hireling shepherds, bread from Heaven being hard to come by?

The Oxford Group Movement has been no exception. It has its ardent supporters, especially among the clergy and the missionaries, who feel that this is the thing that will bring reality to religion in India. The Anglican Metropolitan of India, e.g., who claims to have received a new vision of Christ through the House Party in London, has even declared that the Indian political question itself could be solved through House Party methods. He must have been talking with his tongue in his cheek, I thought, since I had had bitter personal experience of his former unwillingness to allow the Indian claim to independence even the right to exist. I also heard one of the Indian representatives on the Mission of Fellowship to the Churches of the British Isles declare that what impressed him most in England was the activities of the Groups. I thought this a superficial observation, unworthy of an Indian at this period of his nation's life; for it is my conviction, and this is the main point I want to develop in this article, that we have in India at this time a movement far more significant than anything the churches in the West can show, a more literal lifting up of the Cross than the respectable religion of the Groups. But first let me give my impressions of Buchmanism!

(*Continued in next issue*)

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Announcement—to a Few Friends

Expect to spend the Summer on the Pacific Coast. Left New York June 15th. Attend College Commencement and National Congregational Council —both at Oberlin, Ohio—June 16-26. (Address care Mrs. Hakes, 20 East Lorain St., Oberlin, Ohio.) Be around Chicago, June 28-July 4. (Address, Care, UNITY, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago). Then, on to California (Address 664 Creek Drive, Menlo Park, Calif.— for July). Then, to Seattle. (Address, 508 Garfield St.—for August plus.) Return to New York before October. Am prepared to speak on the following topics:

1. What I learned in my two years at Geneva.
2. What I learned in my three trips to Russia.
3. What country is the "villain" in the Peace Drama.
4. Wake up! Cheer up! Day is here!
5. The Soul of America—How is democracy getting on?

Sydney Strong,
Hotel Wolcott, 4 West 31st, N. Y. C.

Utility Trust & Munition Profiteers

How They Have Plundered the American People

The BIG PRIVATE utility interests of the nation have a record of stock watering and consumer exploitation that is shocking to behold.

In another field the munitions and armament makers are bucking the big navy and army drives for huge appropriations, knowing full well that to embark this great nation on a policy of militarism will swell their own profits and prepare the way toward dragging the United States into another world war to their own vast enrichment.

It is time that intelligent people of the nation struck back with a new vigor at these selfish, profit-greedy interests—the utility trust and the munitions trust. Therefore, in early issues, the Progressive, La Follette's great national weekly newspaper, which accepts no paid advertising, will run a series of special articles showing how these interests are plundering the American people—printing facts about them and their hypocrisy that advertising subsidized newspapers dare not print—exposing their enormous profits and unethical business methods.

If you will send 20c for a three month trial subscription to The Progressive you will receive all the special articles covering the complete expose, both of the munition trust and the utility trust. Address The Progressive Publishing Co., Madison, Wis.—Adv.